1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

the notch at the top of the stick and tied around the neck of the stick with another string. Under certain circumstances turkey down replaced eagle down, but the feathers of no other birds were used.

At the harvest ceremony all prayer sticks were painted blue (the Zuni color for men). After the salt gathering at Santa Rosa they were painted both blue and yellow. Occasionally a stick two feet long was "planted" in behalf of a group. This was done at the prayer-stick festival at Quitovaca, where the stick was painted with a red spiral, and by the salt gatherers from Akchin, who tied a red cloth around it.

Though there was a word for bird down, there was no word for prayer stick, which was simply called "sacred object," as were the fetishes.

Deer tails were as desirable as eagle down for accompanying a fetish. The scalp basket unpacked by the writer contained four of them. They should be, if possible, from the black-tailed deer, the white-tailed variety having "no power." Tails from a deer ritually killed were important ceremonial objects, used at the cleansing ceremony and in curing "deer sickness." However, the tail of any deer formed a valuable offering, and hunters did a thriving trade in them.

Tobacco was offered in the form of cane cigarettes; their ceremonial name was "reed joint." Each consisted of a section of *Phragmites communis*, three or four inches long and filled with *Nicotiana attenuata*, the variety grown by the Papago. If no reeds were obtainable, corn husks were used as cigarette wrappers. Cigarettes were always smoked before being deposited, the votary taking four puffs, in the four directions, then stating his wish.

Beads, usually of turquoise, were a less common offering, but highly valued. The request for offerings made in behalf of one village fetish ran: "Bring your valuable things, eagle down, deer tails, and beads."

Certain occasions demanded the use of corn meal, which must be made of "flatheaded corn" (two ears growing together so that each had one flat side).[7] Such meal was most lavishly used at the prayer-stick festival, and it is significant that Navitcu, the cere-

[7] Cf. Mason, 1918, p. 22.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

224
539

I was whistling.
Over there a deer I killed.
I was whistling.

I was shouting [for my partner],
I was shouting,
I was shouting.
Over there a deer I killed.
I was shouting.

MISCELLANEOUS SONGS

28. Then I at dawn am going;
Then, indeed, I see.
Then I at dawn am going.(12)

Deer speaks.

29. Red are my horns, my horns,
With their branching ends.

The horns of the deer are said to grow red when its death is ap- [226]
proaching.

A MODERN SONG

Deer speaks.

30. My fine horns fell off,
I was confused.
There I stood, puzzled,
My fine horns pulled off.

I tried to run home.
I thought,
Truly, I am unhappy.
I thought,
What shall I do to put them back
That I may run gaily?(3)

31. Rocks upstanding!
Rocks upstanding!
Under them I am lying.
A man is descending.
Look! He comes here.(20)

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

10

EAGLE KILLING

THE third road to power was the killing of an eagle. This was almost equivalent to taking a scalp, for the eagle, like the enemy, was a powerful shaman. The tale of the first dangerous eagle and of his subjugation by I'itoi has its place in the origin myth, before the emergence of the Papago from underground.

A monster eagle lived in a mountain cave, where he took a woman to live with him and had a child. From the cave he flew down daily to the settlements and carried off the inhabitants for his food.

I'itoi was appealed to. He promised to come in four days, but actually came in four years. Then he made various incomprehensible stipulations as to the weapons which were to be provided him. Finally the people guessed his desires and gave him an obsidian knife and a number of sticks of hard wood. He drove the sticks into the rock cliff and mounted on them to the eagle's cave. There he turned himself into a fly and waited until the eagle was asleep. With the help of the woman, he cut off the head of the monster and of his child. Then he revived the dead victims.

After the victory he placed the eagle feathers in a basket which is kept by "the one section of the Ancient People still in Papagueria," the inhabitants of Kaka. But he was sick from the power of the feathers and so taught the people the process of purification. He then promised that anyone who killed an eagle in the future should have power, but he must go through the same purification. A hawk would give power also, but in less degree.[1]

[1] The Pima have the same story of the monster eagle (Russell, pp. 219–21). There is no statement about eagle killing or purification, but Russell mentions curing with eagle songs (p. 263) as the Papago eagle killer does.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

825 The writer did not succeed in identifying the birds eligible for this ceremonial killing. Almost every variety of hawk and eagle can be seen at some time in southern Arizona, either as migrant, winter visitor, or a year-long resident. However, the usual hunting time was in summer, when those most commonly found are [34] the golden eagle (*Aquila chrysaetos*), Swainson's hawk (*Buteo Swainsoni Bonaparte*), western red-tailed hawk (*Buteo borealis caluris*), and zone-tailed hawk (*Buteo abbreviatus*). The Papago said that all eagles gave power but not all hawks. In general the hawk was the younger brother of the eagle, not so important, but able to fly faster. He was the guardian spirit of runners, while the eagle was sought by the would-be shaman.

223 There was no ownership of nests, and the writer heard of no trapping ritual. The method most often mentioned was to shoot an adult bird when it was heavy after having eaten and therefore unable to fly.

223 825 However, some of the songs speak of captive eagles, so trapping may have been practiced also. The act which gave power was the final plucking of feathers from the dead body. Every one of these had its purpose: the wing feathers as shaman's divining plumes, breast feathers as offerings and means to rain magic, tail feathers for war arrows. He who had plucked them and received his feather trophy, had all the honors of a "ripe man."

223 783 This exploit was easier than the war party or the salt pilgrimage, and the purification, too, was less strenuous. In some places it was reduced to only four days, and the relatives of the neophyte were not affected at all.(5) At present, when war has ceased, and the salt pilgrimage is performed by only a few villages, eagle killing is the chief means to supernatural power. The writer saw two houses bearing the tuft of eagle down which means that the purification of a killer is in progress.

223 798 The man who planned this exploit selected his guardian just as other power seekers did. He also selected some sheltered spot, far from the house, where he would pass his period of purification. Having killed his bird, he did not return to the house, but signaled from a distance, and the guardian, who was watching, came out to him. The first task was to pluck the eagle. The guardian did not

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

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539A

While around and around the white mountain
She went circling.(16)

23. The lizard man, shaman,
To him you compare me,
To him who enters all the houses.
But let no one think of me at all.
It is this which will cure you.(20)

A species of large lizard is known as the house lizard because it infests houses.

[825]

24. Coyote, my comrade,
Hither ran.
To the end of his tail
A cloud was tied.(26)

25. Coyote, my comrade,
Spit on the tips of his fingers.
He laid them on [the sick man]
"*Haiya*, sickness!
I don't know what you are!
Then I, having looked in vain,
Sit back."(26)

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Among the songs describing shamanistic visions were quoted animal songs indistinguishable from those of the curing singers. A shaman averred, however, that such songs could be dreamed as well as any other and were as suitable for producing a trance. It seems possible that this was not always the case, but at least at present there is an overlapping of songs of the diagnostician and those of the curing singer.

755
539A

26. Little black turtle
Toward Badger Well was crawling;
Toward it, squint-eyed, he was looking.
Near him I stood,
And twisting up he looked at me.(26)

27. Little full-bodied turtle
All alone!
His wife ran away,

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

the leader of a ceremony rendered this service, since he "owned" 755
the rituals. Illness was thought to have been caused by the ceremony itself, in punishment for some disrespect shown by participants or spectators. The remedy was to repeat the performance, or at least part of it, under correct conditions.

Thus the hunt chief could recite his speeches for one sick from the cleansing ceremony, or a headbearer might dance in deerhead disguise. An enemy slayer could go through his purification ritual for one suffering from touching enemy possessions or bewitched by the scalps. The requirements of the prayer-stick festival being particularly rigid, many ailments were ascribed to lapses at that time. In fact, such lapses were the shaman's last resort in cases of chronic rheumatism, since the mistake might have been so tiny as to have gone for years unremembered. If it was not of too long standing, a cure might be made by the impersonator of Navitcu, by a group of singers, or even by the little boys in snouted masks who started the song.[2]

FOR DISEASE SENT BY ANIMALS

A different group of singers dealt with diseases caused by ani- 753
mals. Almost any creature could send an illness, from the tiny gray 825
spider to the mountain lion. Usually it was in punishment for some form of disrespect, since the animals, who fed and instructed the human race, were jealous of their prerogatives. They took vengeance on those who demolished their burrows or killed them with unnecessary cruelty. Also, they punished anyone who walked across their tracks, wasted their meat, threw their bones about, or subjected any of their remains to the presence of a menstruating woman. Finally, they were offended by laziness or by any conduct improper in the Papago code.

Each had a disease which it wielded as an instrument of vengeance. Though the symptoms were vaguely classified, they some-

[171]

[2] The Pima, who do not have the prayer-stick festival, nevertheless use the Navitcu impersonation for curing. The impersonator, called by Russell a "Navitco medicine man," is accompanied by a chorus and by *kakspakam* (equivalent of Papago *kokcpatam*, the little snouted boys). They cure a swelling of the knees (rheumatism?) which is sent by "Navitco an evil spirit adopted from the Papagos." (Russell, p. 266.)

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

753 825 times had a relation to traits in the animal. Thus, most coughs came from the deer, "because he snorts and snuffles." Head lice were from the eagle, usually infested with them. Headache and dizziness were from the horse, "because you feel that way when he throws you." Certain animals were particularly common as avengers, the larger ones appearing oftenest. The writer, when staying in a Papago house, was once caught by her hostess swatting flies. She attempted to excuse the slaughter by explaining: "You know, we white people are peculiar. We think flies bring disease."

"Oh," replied the Papago, "we think disease comes from animals, too, but we wouldn't pick on anything so small as a fly. We'd think of big ones, like the badger or the deer."

727 759 The animals came unsought to their "meeters," giving, perhaps, one song which could be used to evoke their good will.[a] Both men and women received these songs, and often those not otherwise given to dreaming managed this one contact with the supernatural. Said one woman:

> I was out in the desert one day and saw a horned toad looking at me. I knew he meant to say something, and I thought about it. That night, I waked up, and a song began to come to me. But I couldn't get it all. Next morning, I lay still and thought, and then I began to sing it. It was about the horned toad.
>
> For a long time nobody knew anything about it except that my family heard me singing. At last my mother was very sick. They had other singers and nothing had happened. My family asked me to try, but I was ashamed. At last I did, and she got well. Then other people asked me.(26)

752 976 177 One modern singer cures injuries resulting from falling off a horse or being kicked by horses and cattle. Since these animals are importations from the whites, his visitant is another white importation, the devil.

[114] [a] Russell says nothing about singers of animal songs among the Pima, yet they must have existed. He gives a list of symptoms and procedures (pp. 262–63) very similar to the ones quoted here. Some of his medicine songs (pp. 312–14, 317, 319, 320–21) are obviously those given by animals. His statement is that these are a remedy for animal-sent disease, and, by inference, the singer is the shaman. However, in the case of the dog disease (p. 263) "someone who knows the dog song is called in to sing." Very likely, there were singers for the other songs also.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

836 this way of life but simply gave up and allowed her to have her way. If she had children, they would take care of them, since no stigma attached to a fatherless child. The only penalty was that they could not find her a husband, because she was not industrious. But when she was ready to settle down, she frequently found one for herself.

The mother of one informant is reported to have been such a woman. She had wandered to the Altar valley, where she met the young chief (American appointed) of a desert village. "Will you take me to your home?" she proposed. "Would you pick cactus fruit for me, grind my corn and fetch my water?" "Yes. I will pick cactus, grind corn and fetch water." She settled down and spent her life as an industrious wife.

Such incidents were not infrequent. In taking family histories, I several times heard the statement, "He married a light woman", without any other comment than a smile. "The light woman can't help it," informants explain. "Her heart bubbles over" (20). "When you talk to her, she doesn't know what you say. Her heart is outside her, running ahead, to the next dance" (31). Some of the most poetic of Papago songs deal with "the wandering heart" of the light woman.

836 Men who were flirtatious and had many sex affairs were also
832 alluded to as playful but they did not form a distinct class like the
753 women. Both men and women might be made ill by dreaming about
787 the playful people. The symptoms were dizziness and lassitude. The cure was to make clay dolls in the form of man and woman and to have someone sing the girl's puberty songs. Lovesick visions were a common ailment and were attributed to several causes. An
[824] unidentified root, called tcinaca't,[1] was used by men to attract both deer and girls. This root could assume the form of a man, enter a woman's house and cohabit with her after which she would
[778] pine. Also the scalps or the Apache effigy in an Enemy Slayer's basket could take the form of a handsome man, and torment women with yearning.

831 If anyone, man or woman, thought too much of a person of the
825 opposite sex, even though that person were a spouse, a snake would come and cohabit with the dreamer in the place of the loved one. Many tales are told of people who supposed themselves happily married, while others knew that they were going daily to the arroyo to be with a snake. The same fate will overtake one who is not yet married and who thinks too much about love. Young people who look dreamy are reprimanded: "What are you mooning about? You must be married to a snake."

[1] cf. Zuni tenatsali.

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
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159 755 others blew and cleaned me, too. Then Squirrel Ear sang four songs and then they brushed again. I went to sleep. But they sang and cleansed me all night and my father smoked and sang with them, because he was an Enemy Slayer. Women must not sing those songs, so my mother sat and listened, and at midnight she brought them beans and succotash. They sang the last song at dawn and then they went away.

I began to feel better as soon as they started singing. I had not slept for two days, but I slept that night. In two days I was well.

159 787 But I used to dream after that. Sometimes I would think I saw the little men, the Prisoners, climbing down the house posts out of their basket and looking at me. They would point to their mouths and ask for food because, perhaps, my father had not fed them enough. Sometimes, when I was in the desert digging roots, I would see the centipedes and the little red spiders talking together, planning how to make rain. Just after daybreak I would see a coyote darting past the house and I would know he had come to see me.

159 533 I knew all about Coyote and the things he can do, because my father told us the stories about how the world began and how Coyote helped our Creator, Elder Brother, to set things in order. Only some men know these stories, but my father was one of them. On winter nights, when we had finished our gruel or rabbit stew and lay back on our mats, my brothers would say to him: "My father, tell us something."

My father would lie quietly upon his mat with my mother beside him and the baby between them. At last he would start slowly to tell us about how the world began. This is a story that can be told only in winter when [825] there are no snakes about, for if the snakes heard they would crawl in and bite you. But in winter when snakes are asleep, we tell these things. Our story about the world is full of songs, and when the neighbors heard my father singing they would open our door and step in over the high threshold. Family by family they came, and we made a big fire and kept the door shut against the cold night. When my father finished a sentence we would all say the last word after him. If anyone went to sleep he would stop. He would not speak any more. But we did not go to sleep.

159 796 My father's story told us all about why we hold our big feasts, because Elder Brother showed us how in the beginning of the world. My father went to those feasts and he took us, too, because my father was a song maker and he had visions even if he was not a medicine man. He always made a song for the big harvest festival, the one that keeps the world going right and that only comes every four years.

We all went then, from all over our country to the Place of the Burnt Seeds. We camped together, many, many families together, and we made

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
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and down by the wash there were men bending over the fields where the corn and beans and squash were growing.

In the furrow
At the corner
The corn is growing green
Growing green.

I used to hear those songs coming from the houses, because we were so happy in summer time. We had rain. Every morning the sky was bright and every afternoon the little white cloud stood over the mountains to the east. Everywhere by the washes you saw the centipedes that are a sign of rain. We call them a blessing, those centipedes. There were so many that you could shake your head and, pff! one would fall out of your hair. Now there are no more. That fine weather is gone.

We women did not have to fetch water. We could sit in the house and make baskets. Or else we could go off over the land to pick the fine fresh green things. At sunset all the village was full of laughing people, eating around their home fires.

Then we heard the crier call: "Come hither! Bring your cigarettes. We will smoke and talk of what we shall do!"

That call was for the men, not for the women. They got up from the fires and we saw them passing in the starlight against the gray desert that looks almost white on summer nights. I know what my father used to say to them in that meeting, for he has often told me how they spoke after the cigarette went round.

"Well! will you be ready? Take care, for often I have warned you. You must make arrows and your bow you must have in readiness, for when the enemy will arrive, you do not know. At night he may come; at night or in the morning or when the sun stands anywhere in the sky. Then you will arise, your bow you will snatch and therewith will fight the enemy.

"Close by you must keep your bow, your quiver, your hardwood arrows, and your reed arrows with the stone tip. Early in the morning must you have your food that you may be able to fight the enemy. Your girls very early must cook and must give food to the youths that they may be strong to fight no matter where the sun stands in the sky. Your girls shall pour water and shall search for wood and shall cook food. Early in the morning your girls shall run that when the enemy shall come, they can run swiftly and can save their lives.

"This I feel and this I say. Listen and my words shall enter your ears and enter your heads."

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
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child was born, because the baby had hot breath for days and days before it died. 159x 153 158

I always knew when my children were to die. I am one who knows things, because, even though they took my crystals out, there was always something in me. Once, when my baby was sick, I dreamed that I was passing through a wash. A woman sat there with [illegible]d, and its hair was blowing back as though it was in the water, only the wash was dry. I said: "What are you doing here?" "We live here." I knew that meant something strange was coming. 159x 787

Another time I dreamed that someone who seemed a medicine man again led me to a wash. It was full of babies and children, big and little, all crawling around over each other, like worms. "What does it mean?" I asked that man who took me. "It means all your children are going to die. You will have no children at your house."

But I saved one child, a girl. I gave her to my mother to nurse, because an old woman can nurse with us, as well as young ones. That girl grew up. She used to sit on my head when I was running along with the carrying basket, sometimes with another baby on top of it. I took her out to the hills with me when I was gathering fruit and cactus. 159x

"Never step over a snake," I told her, "nor even the trail of a snake, for you will have the vomiting sickness. Don't step on a horned toad, it will make you foot sore. And you must learn the difference between the big ants who are the medicine men and who sting and the little kind ants that will not hurt you." [869] [825]

When all our family camped for days and days, to bake the cholla buds, we made a little enclosure of boughs for our children. "Stay there and do not play hard. You will be thirsty and drink up our water." So they made dolls out of leaves and played at grinding corn with sand and little flat stones. Sometimes the children brought us something to eat. In the Month of Rain, when the birds got their feathers wet in the thunder storms so they hopped along the ground and could not fly, then our children would chase them and catch them in their hands. Doves and woodpeckers they brought in to us, and we roasted them on a spit with the feathers on. 159x 854 224 857

We like children, you know. We talk to them quietly and tell them what to do, but we do not scold. When our children are running about the house, in and around everything, we let them run. If they break something, then that thing is just broken. We do not say anything. Sometimes they run across the circle when we are dancing. Or when the medicine man is going about with his branch of thorns, removing sickness, they might try to grab it. No one would speak about that. We like them to be happy. 159x 854

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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animals if income is to be raised and the range preserved, has been firm in insisting that the number of horses on the range should be governed by the need for them. In the face of much opposition and with the aid of jail sentence for noncompliance, they have seen to it that horses afflicted in a recent epidemic of dourine were killed and a strict quarantine maintained.

Furthermore, many of the flash-flood farms are now endangered by siltation resulting from soil erosion due to overgrazing of range lands. Hence stock reduction and the introduction of better grasses will help even those families which have no stock.

The Extension Department has been of great assistance to the Papago in improving their fields and herds. The latter has not been and will not be an easy task, for to the Desert People cattle are not a source of prestige. Cattle provide food and spot cash, but there is yet little of the attitude of making a paying business of cattle production. Furthermore, the Department will meet with at least tacit opposition for a long time, since white men's methods sometimes run counter to the old beliefs. Many Papago, for instance, think that their range is in poor condition, not because they have too many animals or because of prolonged droughts, but because so many horses have been killed off in recent years. The horse is endowed with magic powers, and the white men are only asking for trouble when they slaughter sick animals. Only long and patient education—of adults in the villages and of children in the schools—can dispel superstition. The Agency is well aware of these difficulties, and the staff has made conscientious efforts to explain and to persuade, rather than to compel, progress.

Though the quality of Papago cattle is still in need of improvement, standards have risen measurably in the past decade. Until 1930 the steer with the largest horns was considered the best; and as late as 1937 skinny Spanish cows with a horn spread of several yards, looking like great gaunt deer, still peered from mesquite thickets. Today Hereford cattle constitute most of the herds, and under the tutelage of the Agency the Council has established a tribal herd of registered bulls which individual owners may use to improve the breed.

Cattle is the largest single source of revenue, providing 36 per cent of Reservation income in 1940 (the last year before war wages and prices began to distort the normal picture), but agriculture is still the backbone of the Papago economy. Over half the twelve hundred Papago families do not own any cattle at all, and only a sixth obtain more than fifty dollars from this source in a normal year. On the other hand, almost all families do some farming. The estimated cash value of the products is small and forms only a sixth of

[Text continues on p. 35-Analyst]

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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764 woman had made and any favorite possession; the toys of a child. Food was often interred with the body. Then the house where the death had occurred was torn down, and the name of the dead person was mentioned no more.

Nowadays the dead are interred in cemeteries which are usually blessed by Christian clergy. The bodies are placed in coffins in white fashion, but sometimes extra clothing is buried with them. In some places Roman Catholic and Presbyterian Papago bury their dead in a miniature adobe house under the ground. The house of the dead person is usually not destroyed, particularly if it is a substantial one, and his name is more freely mentioned than in former times.

753 [821] But ghosts are still believed to bring sickness, returning as owls or other animals, usually at night. Most children are terrified of the dark, and many adults are distressed if at night they see an owl or coyote.

825 753 All animals are endowed with supernatural power, which they may use to help humans, but, if offended, to send sickness. This possibility, together with the fact that it may be a ghost, makes any animal a potential threat, hence the Papago fear animals and take great care not to offend them. If you imitate the bobwhite's whistle, the Desert People believe, your house will burn down. If rabbit blood touches your body or eyes, you will have sores or become blind. The breath of dogs will bring illness. Some animals are especially dangerous; the wild horse, for example, is associated with evil. Others are dangerous to children. These are only a few instances of widely prevalent animal superstitions.

Humans may escape the wrath of animals through avoidance. Children are taught not to play near gopher holes and to keep their distance from all other wild animals. Even those which are killed for food are handled as little as possible. But if one must be near animals, he may use magic to protect himself. For example, men who break wild horses take magical precautions against acquiring horse sickness.

753 181 Illness can also be brought on by thinking evil thoughts. The great emphasis placed by the Papago on peaceful living and their avoidance of quarreling has already been noted. A Papago is constantly adjured not only that quarreling is morally wrong but also that the kinds of thoughts that cause quarrels may bring illness.

753 831 According to Papago belief, a special sort of sickness may be caused by letting one's thoughts dwell too much on sexual matters, although the Desert People have a lively interest in sex, and many of their jokes and nicknames are based upon it.

000 If, despite all precautions, a Papago becomes sick, he goes to a medicine

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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house, they will spend hours playing around it, patting it, and leading it about. A boy of this age is delighted if someone gives him a wide-brimmed hat, a bright silk shirt, high-heeled boots, or any other part of a cowboy's regalia.

Little girls' play is also imitative. They enjoy the rag dolls made by mother or grandmother, and they are often seen playing house in a corner of the yard, out of the way of the women at work but within sight and call. Girls over eight are usually with the older women. Sometimes they help or run errands, but, even when not working, they prefer to stay near by, joining in the women's conversation now and then, while they amuse themselves by dressing each other's hair with ribbons, looking at snapshots or illustrated magazines, or perhaps playing records on the phonograph.

Dogs, horses, and cattle, which can bring sickness, according to Papago belief, are nevertheless played with freely, and all children play with the family dog. Papago dogs, kept as workers, not as pets, are usually large enough to scare the coyotes away from the house, but they are thin and underfed because as a rule they must forage for themselves. Adults are sometimes fond of them, but ordinarily they are kicked about and handled roughly. Kindness to animals is undeveloped among the Papago, perhaps (as Underhill has suggested), because animals have magic power and therefore have no need of special consideration by men.[2] The attitude of children toward animals reflects that of adults; they play with the dog often but are unconcerned if some trick of theirs hurts him. The adults themselves appear to be amused at the child's ingenuity and the animal's efforts to escape.

By the time children are five they need no longer be warned against handling wild animals, living or dead, for they know that disease will surely come as a result. They stay away from animal burrows and show little curiosity about the wild creatures of the desert.

Perhaps the most exciting play that the child knows comes at the fiesta. In the western districts children attend four or five celebrations a year, most of them outside their own villages. In Babóquivari fewer fiestas are given, and children do not so often attend those in other villages. As soon as the family arrives at the dance ground, the child leaves his parents to join a group of his own age and sex and returns to his mother only when he is hungry or sleepy.

Boys of five through ten seldom join in the dancing. They play around the dance ground, pretending to be cowboys, scuffling and shouting much as they would at home. Hearing the music, watching the dancers, and keeping out of the way of drunks adds to the excitement.

Little girls often start the dancing and are on the dance ground with one

2. Ruth Underhill, *Singing for Power*, p. 49.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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Its precariousness and limitation would lie in the fact that conflicts were not solved but only displaced and avoided.

The Papago believed that most commonly the dead approach the living in the form of animals, particularly of owls. Other animals, like the coyote, might be messengers from the land of the dead. But, beyond this, every single animal could become a bringer of death, sickness, and misfortune or, on the other hand, a helper and a sender of power and dreams (see chap. vi). Thus, the attitude toward animals seems to be an extension of the fear of the dead. The Papago fear of animals today seems to be connected with guilt feelings; very often it is the offended or maltreated animal to whose revenge misfortune is ascribed. The desirable attitude toward them—taught to the children from an early age—is avoidance.

TABLE 9

PRINCIPAL SOURCES OF FEAR DESCRIBED BY CHILDREN OF TWO PAPAGO AREAS AND BY WHITE CHILDREN (ROUNDED PERCENTAGES OF ALL RESPONSES)*

Source	Western Papago	Eastern Papago	All Papago	Whites
Animals	54	40	45	17
Clearly supernatural fear (ghosts, etc.)	12	10	10	1
Clearly objective fear (physical danger)	11	16	15	34
Subjective fear (night, noises, etc.)	7	15	9	14

* For source of data see Table 4. For age limits of the various groups and relations of columns 1, 2, and 3 see Table 6.

Present-day Papago children are greatly afraid of animals, as their responses to the Emotional Response Test show (see Table 9). Frightening experiences with animals take by far the first place among all remembered fearful occasions. Since these children are in daily contact with all kinds of animals including domestic beasts like cattle, horses, and dogs, evaluation of the test results is quite difficult. At first glance, a Papago and a white child who mention having been chased by a dog appear to have had the same kind of fearful experience. Knowing, however, the Papago belief in the potential supernatural character of all animals, and remembering that as late as 1943 several Papago ascribed a long drought to a large-scale killing of sick horses, we cannot be sure without further exploration where the fear of animals implies fear of the supernatural and where it does not. The principal difference between the two qualities of fear lies in the meaningful and intentional reference to himself which the frightening experience has for the individual afraid of the supernatural and in the practically limitless consequences to which he fears it may expose him.

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940 1942
NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

Pi Pa 276 The mature leaves were dried by the Papago in the sun on a sotol mat outside the house, or on a piece of ground swept clean for the purpose, and were regarded as ready for smoking when about half dried and very bitter. Leaves were usually dried by the Pima on a cotton blanket, either in the sun or the house, and stirred occasionally with a stick to facilitate this process. If a Papago wanted to use the tobacco before it was fully dried, some leaves would be toasted on a piece of olla over hot coals. However, customarily the leaves were fully dried in the sun and stored without breaking, or first rolled into balls before they were fully dried. They were then placed in an olla or gourd, covered with a piece of broken olla, and sealed with mud mixed with "sticky grass." This dried tobacco might be stored in real bird nests kept in the house, but often in a cavity made by the red-shafted flicker *(Colaptes cafer collaris)* in a sahuaro tree. The Pima knew that leaves dried more rapidly in the sun, but those dried indoors were stronger and made better smoking, as the leaves curled somewhat and seemed thicker than the sun-dried ones; they were rolled and pressed into an olla and a cotton cloth tied over the top, or sealed by placing a shaped piece of broken olla over the opening and securing it with mud. This was for the purpose of keeping out moisture and insects. Neither in drying the leaves nor in putting them into the olla was any particular care taken to keep the leaves unbroken. The olla was stored in the brush house. When a quantity was wanted for smoking, the olla cover was removed, a few handfuls placed in a buckskin (or in later times canvas) pouch, then the olla resealed. This tobacco was very strong.

Pa [415] [824]

Among both Papago and Pima, the seeds, pods and flowers were not smoked, but occasionally if a man's supply were low he might crush and mix pieces of small stems with the leaves.

The Pima, after harvesting the ripe leaves, pulled up the plants at the end of the season, and tied them in bundles for storage. Leaves left on these plants matured more or less, were called "third tobacco," and were also smoked. The

6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

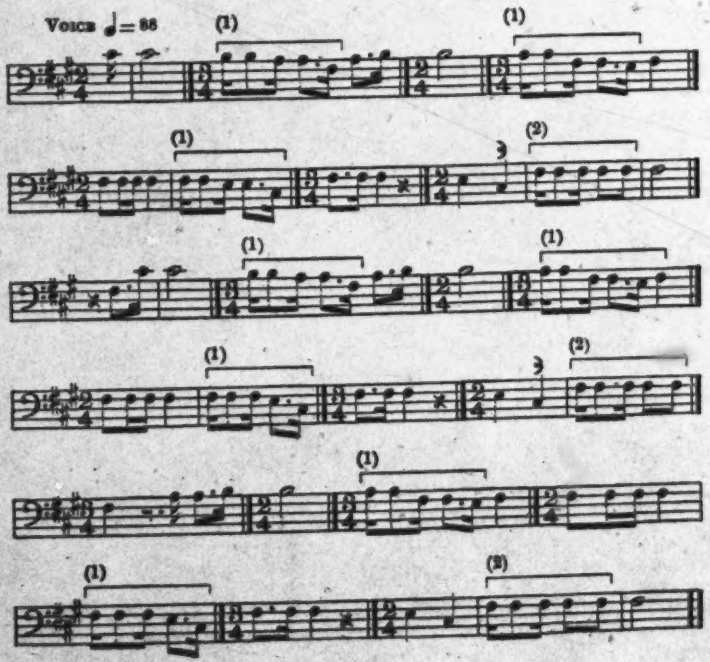
Analysis.—This song is characterized by a compass of nine tones and a freedom of upward and downward movement between the highest and lowest tones of the compass. Like many songs of this series it ends with an ascending progression. It is based on the fourth five-toned scale, and the major second constitutes 55 per cent of the intervals. Next in frequency is the minor third.

The fourth incident was the encounter with Brown Buzzard. When the Papago came to Brown Buzzard's house they caught him and were going to kill him, but he said, "Do not kill me. I will do something so that your evenings will pass pleasantly." He removed his scalp and fastened it at the end of a pole. When evening came he held up the scalp and sang all night. This was the beginning of the custom of taking scalps and of dancing the scalp dance. This also is the reason why the buzzard has no feathers on top of his head.

No. 18. Song of Brown Buzzard After Removing His Scalp

(Catalogue No. 989)

Recorded by MATTIAS HENDRICKS



TRANSLATION

You must enjoy yourselves in the evening.
Look at me. See how I look and yet I am happy.

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

before the close. Only five intervals are larger than a minor third and all these occur in ascending progressions.

Mr. Encinas, the writer's interpreter, said that he once took an herb treatment and that his health was improved for a period of eight years. The medicine was a powerful purgative, yellowish in color and consisting of only one herb. It had no definite taste, and he was required to drink almost a quart of it morning and evening for two consecutive days. There were no songs connected with this treatment. The medicine man died a few years after Mr. Encinas received the treatment, and as he left no son the identity of his medicinal herb has been lost. It was customary to "talk to the plant or tree" when gathering a medicinal substance and also when administering it.

The following list shows animals and birds said to cause disease, with the symptoms of the ailments.[11] Songs used in treating the first five ailments were recorded.

Deer	Weakness and cough.
Badger	Swelling of the throat.
Horned toad	"If a person steps on a horned toad and kills it he will have a large sore on the part of his body corresponding to the injured part of the toad."
Rattlesnake	Pain around the heart.
Lizard (brown)	Severe internal fever.
Bear	Swellings and soreness.
Dog	Mouth affected, no appetite.
Gopher	Pains around the heart.
Jack rabbit	Boils, especially on the neck.
Rat	Soreness of mouth, affects only infants.
Turtle	Severe lameness.
Blue hawk, eagle, woodpecker	Symptoms not given but were said to be the same in diseases caused by these birds.
Butterfly	Dysentery.
Quail	Sore eyes.
Owl	Sleepiness.
Woodpecker	Boils and sores on the head.

Sickness Caused by Spirit Animals or Birds

Jose Panco (pl. 14, *b*), who recorded the next five songs, is using them at the present time (1920) in treating persons suffering from the "deer sickness." He received the songs from his grandfather, who told him of their origin. Not many miles from San Xavier is a mountain called "Kawit" and below this is a village. Panco's grandfather said there once lived in this village a man who went out to hunt every day. On his last hunt he had gone quite a distance when he saw a deer running toward him. The deer came toward him, then turned and ran away from him, going toward the west.

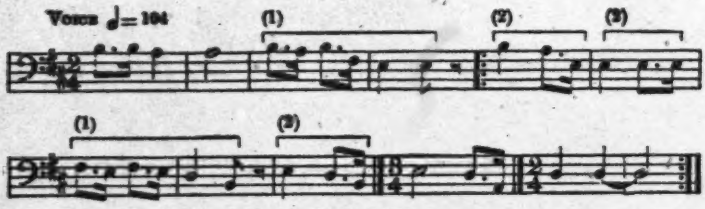
[11] For a longer list see Frank Russell, op. cit., pp. 269-303.

6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

533X

No. 52. "Toward the Mountains" (Catalogue No. 1040)

Recorded by JOSE PANCO



TRANSLATION

Part 1

Hanamikan Mountain calls itself doctor and stands by itself.
Toward it I am walking.

Part 2

Thatkam calls itself brave, standing toward Hanapkam Mountain.

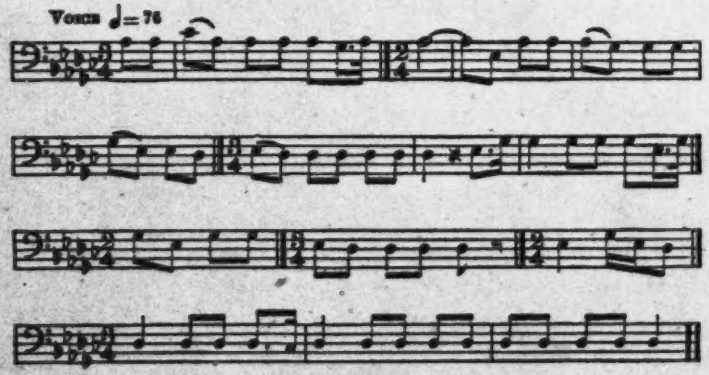
Analysis.—This is the most vigorous of the healing songs recorded by Panco. It has a compass of nine tones, while the preceding songs had a compass of an octave. A dotted eighth note followed by a sixteenth occurred once in the rhythmic units of preceding songs and occurs twice in the first unit of this song, adding to the briskness of the rhythm. The interval of a fourth is used effectively at the close and constitutes 27 per cent of the progressions. The tone material is that of the fourth five-toned scale.

The badger is said to cause an affection of the throat accompanied by swelling. The following is one of the songs given by the badger for the treatment of this trouble. The singer (pl. 16, *c*) resides at Vomari.

[825 753]

No. 53. Song of the Badger Medicine (Catalogue No. 1024)

Recorded by RAFAEL MENDEZ



TRANSLATION

I know everything in the bottom of my heart.
From Coyote I learn all this.
I get it and keep it within me, and hold it there.

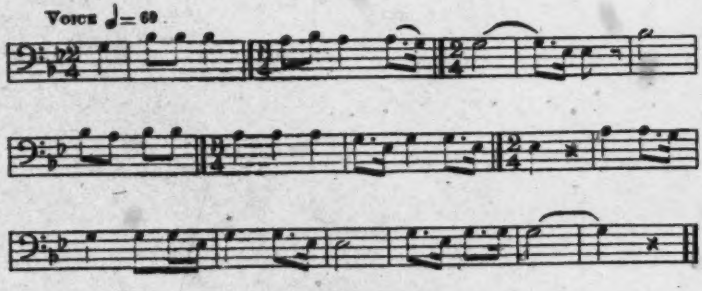
6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

X 533 *Analysis.*—This song is classified with G flat as its keynote, although the third above that tone does not occur. It is an example of an Indian song consisting of pure melody without tonality. The song progresses by minor thirds and major seconds except for two intervals of a fourth.

[825] It is the belief of the Papago that the horned toad is a "medicine animal." It is said that he "once got up a sickness," so the medicine men gathered the sunshine and covered him up, to put an end to him, but he escaped and went directly to the man who did it and sang the following song to him.

No. 54. "They Covered Me with Sunshine"

(Catalogue No. 1021)

Recorded by RAFAEL MENDEZ

TRANSLATION

Gray horned toad, the sun shines on you.
The sunshine they gathered.
With that they covered me but I got out from it.

Analysis.—This song is peculiar in that the fifth above the keynote does not occur while the sixth occurs with frequency and prominence. The song is not particularly rhythmic and the principal interval is the minor third. Other songs of this group with a similar tone material are Nos. 69 and 92. There was an exact degree of force used in singing horned toad songs, both being sung in a low tone and somewhat drawled. This manner was followed by the singer when recording the songs.

[278] It is said that the Papago formerly mixed a certain dried, pulverized flower with "something from the rocks," and put a little of this mixture in a cup of water. The man who drank it became crazy for four days. A similar effect was obtained by combining the powder with an equal quantity of tobacco, making it into a cigarette which the man was asked to smoke. After a medicine man had prepared the remedy for this condition he sang a song with the following words:

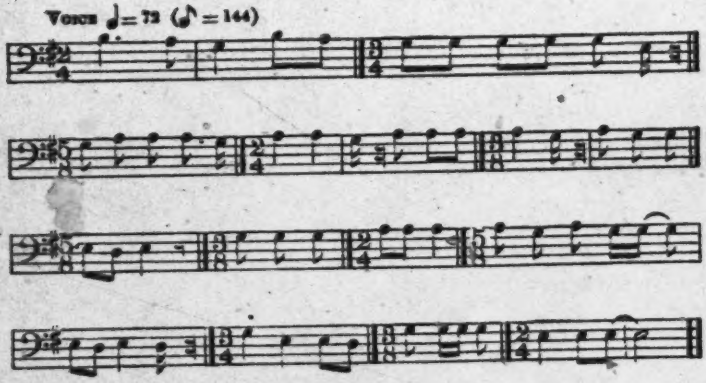
6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

No. 56. Song to a Little Yellow Wasp

(Catalogue No. 1023)

X 533

Recorded by RAFAEL MENDEZ



TRANSLATION

Little yellow wasp, you throw the dirt in my eyes.
I do not know what to do with you.
All I can do is to make a long-drawn breath, hoping you will die in four days.

Analysis.—The measure divisions and intervals of this song are appropriate to its title. It contains no rhythmic unit and frequent changes of time. The tones are those of the second five-toned scale and two-thirds of the intervals are whole tones.

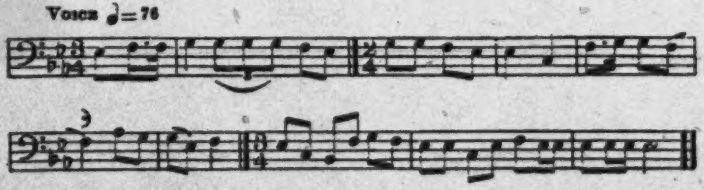
[753
● 825]

The following was said to be a "general medicine man's song," probably used to cure a disease caused by a brown lizard.

No. 57. "Brown Lizard"

(Catalogue No. 1042)

Recorded by JOSE PANCO



TRANSLATION

He hangs it on both sides of himself and rolls around, then he gets up and dances with these on either side.

Analysis.—This is one of the most pleasing melodies recorded by the Papago. It begins and ends on the same tone and contains no rhythmic unit. Five sorts of ascending intervals occur, giving variety to the progressions.

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

The spirits of dead Apache were believed to cause three sorts of illness: (1) Koŏp, which might affect persons of any age, at any time; (2) Komotan, which affected warriors and unborn children; and (3) Hivicolita, which affected children. The first and second were induced by failure to show respect toward the spirit of the dead Apache and the third frequently attacked the children of warriors who had not undergone the ordeal of purification after killing Apache. Food was taken to the warriors and they were expected to bury any fragments that remained. If one of their children came to the place at a later time, found scraps of food and ate them, the children would develop the Hivicolita sickness. Children who disturbed a "spirit basket" or treated it with disrespect were similarly afflicted. (See pp. 188 and 195.)

The owl is the bird associated with the dead, and owl feathers sometimes taught the songs used in treating this class of diseases, but a majority of the songs, as stated, were received from spirits of the dead. A doctor could give his songs to another if he so desired, or he could transmit the power to treat these diseases and the man could get his songs from some other source. The songs are in groups of four, such a group being called a "rest." The song is sung through twice, then the latter portion is sung twice, while a gourd rattle is shaken. The manner of shaking the rattle depends on the instructions received by the doctor in his dream. For example, some doctors are instructed to "roll" the rattle four times before beginning a song, while others shake the rattle sharply four times before they begin to sing. Garcia, who recorded a majority of the songs in this section, preceded his songs by a continuous "roll" of the rattle. The rhythmic form of these songs is different from that of similar songs among tribes already studied. The words are poetic and do not contain the affirmation which characterized the healing songs of the Chippewa.

The songs of one locality differ from those of another and the place where a song "belongs" or originated is always kept in mind. The first two Koŏp songs here presented (Nos. 62 and 63) and the two Komotan songs are "used back in the country," while the other five Koŏp songs are used in the vicinity of San Xavier. If these songs were sung apart from their proper use they might produce the diseases they were intended to cure. In such a case it was necessary that the man be treated by one who was skillful in the use of songs.

One of the informants related his own experience, saying he knew many of the songs used in treating these classes of diseases and once became so interested in them that he sang them continually. He said that "his head was full of these songs." His father warned him that trouble would result but he continued singing them. After a time he developed the symptoms of the illnesses which were caused by Apache spirits and he suffered greatly until a medicine man came and

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

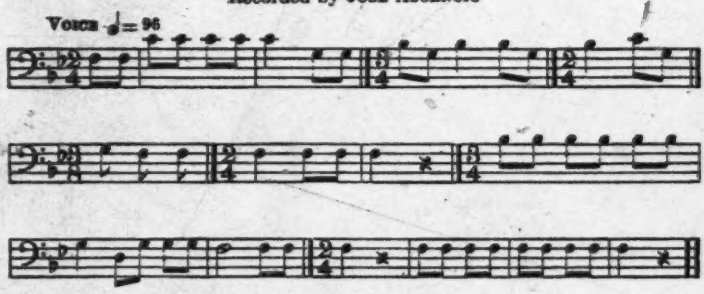
X 333 854 825

The following song is similar to the preceding one. It should be remembered that the robin goes to southern Arizona at the beginning of their cold weather, being a harbinger of winter instead of a sign of spring, as in northern climes.

No. 164. "The Robin Brings the Cold Wind"

(Catalogue No. 1053)

Recorded by JOSE ASCENCIO



TRANSLATION

The robin spreads the green wind on us.
He spreads the coldest wind on us.
Now knock him down with a stick.

X 533

Analysis.—The tone material of this song is the fourth five-toned scale. The song begins and ends on the fifth and has a compass of seven tones. One-third of the progressions are fourths, an interval which has been found to characterize songs concerning birds and animals. The rhythm of the song is characterized by a succession of eighth notes but these appear in so many connections that they can scarcely be said to constitute a rhythmic unit. The song contains no note values except eighth and quarter notes.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

look upon it as being worth a good deal of money to the one who submits to the operation. His bow and four arrows, the result of much labor, he sold for $1.25. I gave him some tobacco, candy, and raisins, and we separated great friends.

In the afternoon I arrived at a house outside of which an old medicine-man, Castillo, was singing to soothe a patient, a middle-aged, powerful looking man who was lying on his back in front of him. His singing was accompanied by the rasping of two sticks; one end of the notched one he held by his left hand, while the other end rested against an inverted basket, and he drew the rasping stick each time up toward him and then down, the opposite movement to the one which we should use to produce the same result. Near the basket on the ground an effigy of a horned lizard had been placed; it was made of wood and daubed with ochre, its head turned toward the patient.

Some Indians came up smiling as if they wished it to be understood that they did not believe in the performance, for they knew that white men laugh at this. One of them obligingly brought me a basket for sale as well as three small ancient objects, a flint arrow-point, a spinning whorl, and a small perforated stone disk, all threaded on a string. In the meantime the medicine-man, whom I watched from my horse, was finishing his treatment by placing the effigy repeatedly on the patient's leg, breathing and blowing at the same time. The man had a pain in his leg which had been caused by a horned lizard, for, according to Papago beliefs, all animals have

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

753 755 825 the faculty of making people ill except the deer and the pronghorn antelope. To relieve the illness the doctor had sung a song to the animal, asking it to take the 755 pain away. He then walked into his house; somebody must have told him that I was a 756 *makai* (doctor, medicine-man), for a few minutes later, to my surprise, he brought out his medicine basket, easily recognized by its long shape, and came up to me. We sat down on the ground; he took off the cover and began to unpack the contents of his tray.

753 Many people gathered around us and the sick man half rose from his mat in order to turn around to see who the stranger was. There were many remedies of a similar character to the one just described. Images of certain animals, accompanied by appropriate ceremonies and exhortations, are thought to relieve ailments. Like the native doctor himself, an animal is thought to be able to cause illness as well as to cure. The turtle [825] causes stiffness, the butterfly produces vomiting, and the badger gives backache. The deer makes persons cough, and their voices weak, and may give consumption; but a deer-tail, placed on a stick and manipulated in the proper way by the medicine-man, will cure that illness, for, as Castillo added by way of explanation, "it is not often you see the deer thin." A piece of clay taken from a gopher's burrow is used against excessive menstruation or stomach pain. The sun is apt to give fever, and [821] a patient suffering thus is relieved at sunrise; during the incantations of the doctor a small wooden image of the sun rests on the ground, while the patient faces the east.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

The old man seemed glad to explain everything. He was also willing to sell me some of his treasures. One of them was a medicine-man's plume consisting of four eagle plumes tied together so that they diverged two by two. When used, these are held by the quill ends as a handle and moved in the air forward and backward as if dusting an object. When the young girls come of age they are "dusted" in this way from all evil. The implement was new and well made, and I wanted to buy it. "The plume is very valuable," he answered; "with us it is at least worth as much as a horse or a cow." He would, however, make it easy for me by letting me have it for $2.50. I presented him with a pouch of tobacco and a handful of candy, the cause of much interest to his little grandchildren who had been clinging to the good-natured old man all the time that he was explaining. He also promised to show me the so-called Montezuma's Cave, in the peak of Baboquivari, some day.

In a light wagon which Pablo borrowed we started on an excursion south, to be possibly extended beyond the border to Pozo Verde. The day was moist and warm. We passed several extensive summer rancherias or temporales as they are usually called. The rude fences of mezquite looked substantial and the Indian ranches gave an impression of prosperity. At two places there were dams also fenced in, but they were empty; they had been made by scooping up the rich soil with scrapers and horse-power. The water in such ponds lasts only three or four months and is not for irrigating purposes, but solely for the use of men and beasts. The

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

in the east, from where black clouds come. "The black clouds have many inclinations in different directions and we can, by our singing, turn them toward us and influence the winds to make this poor earth moist" he says. Then he asks for a song, and in response the group sitting on that mat sings about rain. After having in the same way solicited songs from the rest of the groups, seated at the cardinal points, and received immediate and enthusiastic answers by invariably well-executed songs, the old men return to the lodge.

They immediately, however, come back for a similar round of visits, the speaker this time asking for an expression of friendship for himself. Every one answers "friend!" or gives him his degree of relationship. Next, the groups on the four mats sing in turn and, after that, wine is again offered around four times.

The pair of old men reappear and the speaker again admonishes those on the mats to look for the shining house in the east, where the black clouds are. A wonderful cloud reaches up to heaven and in it lives the mocking-bird. He comes out, jumps around, puts his head back and talks. "Through your strength," he says, addressing the mocking-bird as if present, "come all the clouds that are, all the winds that are, all the lightning, all the thunder. From all the mountains spring up other clouds joining the rest. It matters not how wide the earth is, the clouds touch all the sides. It matters not how many sierras there are, the clouds cover them all. It matters not how many arroyos there are side by side, the clouds cut across them; nor does it

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

There is a large scorpion (*hadrurus hirsutus*) found [136]
in these parts, four and one-quarter inches long, which, however, is not as poisonous as the smaller species. Late one evening, while searching for something with my lantern, I came across one running along the ground, and which appeared at first sight to be a mouse. It was killed and left in an open vessel to be put in alcohol the next day. In the morning I found that the ever-present [231]
and hungry hens of the Indians had already taken care of it. With the exception of scorpions, there are not many obnoxious creatures in the region. Rattlesnakes, of course, there are, but they should not be classed in the same category with the rest, because they always give warning of their presence, besides being perhaps the only snakes known to be good-tempered. According to [825]
the Indians, few horses and cattle are bitten; they know the rattlesnakes and turn away when they hear the sound; dogs also know them. Children in the West have been known to lift them up unharmed, and the extraordinary performance of the Hopi Indians carrying them alive in their mouths may be called to mind. I never like to kill a rattler.

On Sunday morning, August 8, dark, nimbus clouds [821]
were gathering in "threatening" fashion, as the inhabitants of countries with normal rainfall would say, but here where the very existence of the people is dependent on a few showers in July and August, they awakened joyful expectations. The prospect of rain was at that time uppermost in everybody's thoughts, day in and day out. It means success in raising crops, the filling by the

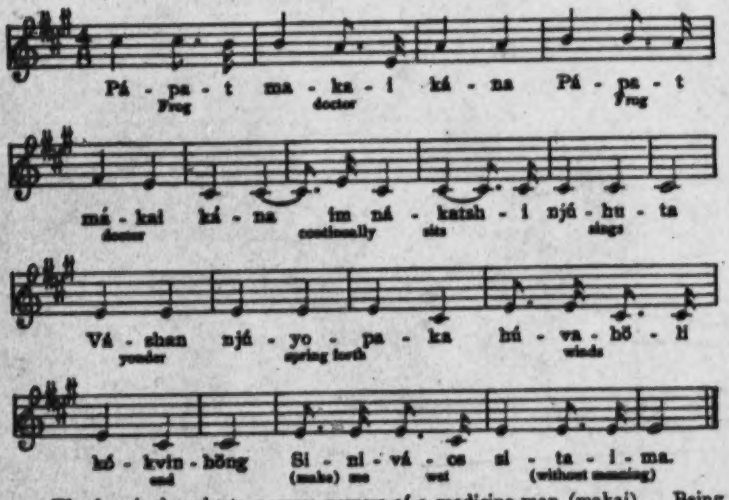
7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

an extraordinary soprano that would have done credit anywhere, untutored to be sure, but rich, sonorous, and of great force. She was the wife of the Keeper of the Smoke, and had a married granddaughter!

For about an hour I danced and sang, making my way in among the leaders. Their singing was almost

THE "FROG DOCTOR"

A PAPAGO RAIN SONG HEARD AT THE SAHUARO FEASTS


Pá - pa - t ma - ka - i há - na Pá - pa - t
Frog doctor Frog
má - kai há - na im ná - katsh - i njú - hu - ta
doctor continually sits sings
Vá - shan njú - yo - pa - ka hú - va - bŏ - li
yonder spring hath winds
hŏ - kvin - bŏng Si - ni - vá - os si - ta - i - ma.
end (make) me wet (without meaning)

The frog is thought to possess powers of a medicine-man (makai). Being connected with water he is, according to Indian belief, able to influence the coming of rain and is therefore implored to assist in bringing moisture to the earth.

deafening, and after a while I walked home to my camp, enjoying the singing better at the distance of a mile. The next night, near my bed time, it sounded especially well; they were singing the "Frog Doctor," a song about rain and moisture that I had learned, and which has the distinction of being in the major key. I could

10: Dolores I-5 (1911-1919) 1923
NU28 Papago NU28

NOMINAL STEMS

BY

JUAN DOLORES

192
825

ANIMALS

a'ahto, peacock
ahṭo, sing
*o'ocoht, tigers
ohkohkoi, wild pigeon
u'uhi'k, birds
uhimali, a kind of bug
*maiho'ki, centipede
mavi't, panther, lion
muvali, mu·varum, fly
mu·ra, mule, *mula*
*nan·ahkamal, bat
nahkɛceli, nahkcerem, scorpion
neboht, whippoorwill
nyuvi, buzzard
*sihki, white-tailed deer (?)
*s·uam-muaram, butterfly
*cacani, blackbirds
coi'ka, pet animal
*co'o, grasshopper
culikɛ, ground squirrel
cu·'k, mocking bird
haivani, cow
*hauhpali, a kind of hawk
*hiohpɛtci, louse
hiwehteu, belly
hiwehteuwe'ki, small black and red spider, poisonous
hikivitci, woodpecker
*hohohkimali, butterfly
huavi, deer
huh'u'ṭaki, bumble bee
*va·ma't, any non-poisonous snake
vahpɛkya'i'k, ducks
vahtohp, fish
visa'kɛ, hawk
vihpe, vi·hpɛcum, wasps, hornets
vipiscmali, humming bird
wopco, rats

10:Dolores I-5 (1911-1919) 1923
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192
825

wu·lu·, donkey, *burro*
ba'a'k, eagle
ban, coyote
baba't, frog
*pihsin, bear
ta·ṭai, road runner
toah-kam, animal (alive, whole)
to·lo, bull, *toro*
to·va, turkey
tohtoni, ants
tohki'tuhṭ, spider
djuw, hare, jackrabbit
djuṭumi, bear
toemama'ki, horned toad
*tcehe-kam, woodpecker
tcehwo, gopher; pl. tce'tcehwo
*tcivihtcuhte, killdeer
*tcuavi, fox
*tcuhtculi, hen
tcuhkuhṭ, owl
tcuku'kcevah', cricket
gaw, badger
*gehwo, wild cat
gohtci, wild boar, peccary
go'ka, dog
kaso, fox
kaviyu, horse, *caballo*
kakaihtcu, topknot quail
kisuhpi, small bird
ko'oi, snake, rattlesnake
komchktceṭ, turtle
kohson, wood rat
*kohkovah, ground owl
kokohṭ, geese, crane
kuṣta'k, ant
kulivitci-kam, a brown singing bird
*kuvi't, large yellow deer

BODY PARTS

192
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a'an, feathers, wings
aht, anus, bottom
eli-ta'k, skin, bark
e'ehṭ, blood
ibe'ta'kx, heart, spirit
o, back
o'o, bones
o'o'kx, tears
um, thigh
*mahtx'k, palm of hand
*mahtcsvito'k, large feathers
mo'o, head, hair

VIKITA CEREMONY OF THE PAPAGO (CONT.).

796
292
[534]
masks were painted in a black chevron pattern, the chevrons arranged in columns side by side, about an inch wide.

Attached to the back of the mask, below the clump of feathers and at about the base of the head, was a strap or panel of variously colored cloth or canvas, hanging free, usually about 4 to 6" wide, and reaching to the small of the back. This panel was fringed, usually with short turkey feathers, and had ornaments fastened to it. These ornaments were, variously, of tin, cut into diamonds, squares, or circles, of mirrors large and small, of cutout paper figures representing both a person picking sahuaro fruit and a curious human figure with what seemed to be horns on its head. One back strap had the chrome plated hub [177] shields of an Essex and Plymouth automobile fastened to it, brilliantly polished. Several had spread hawk wings tied to the panel edges in place of the turkey feather fringe. Others had the tail feathers of ●[825] the Western Red Tail Hawk arranged side by side across the bottom, with turkey feather fringe on the sides; another had the spread tail of a similar hawk tied across the bottom. The fringe of one strap was of the green imitation grass used in Christmas decorations. Another had, in place of the usual panel, a medallion about two feet in diameter, of long hawk or eagle feathers arranged radially about a small central disc, and attached to the headdress by a slender strap.

Many or all masks had a braid or twist of horsehair or human hair attached to each side, hanging down over the dancer's breast, and ornamented with tufts of red down or other bright plumes.

The dancers wore white garments reaching to the knees, usually sleeveless. Some of these shifts or tunics were opened up the side from hem to armhole, with overlapping edges apparently held closed by the belts which the men wore. Others wore plain tunics without the side opening. The belts were varied. Many were of wide canvas, with [534] cowbells and dinner gongs tied to them. These sometimes had a fringe of tinklers, made of cones of rolled tin five or six inches in length, hung by thread or copper wire from the lower edge of the belt. One man wore several immense brass bells, resembling sleighbells, three or more inches in diameter, on his belt. While most belts had a few bells, several were solidly hung with them.

Many dancers, in addition to a narrow belt with bells tied to it, wore fringed aprons, consisting of two roughly semi-circular pieces of canvas, one before and one behind, joined at the hips with string. One at least wore a black apron. Another dancer wore a cloth cartridge belt, with large wooden cartridges four inches long, painted red and blue, in the loops. At least one dancer wore a machete, in its scabbard, stuck through his belt. Some carried pouches attached to their tunics below the right breast, and several of these pouches looked suspiciously like ladies' handbags.

17: Castetter and Underhill
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Papago NU28

[For a description of the use of animals by the Papago, see category 116, pp. 40-52, 61-63, and 68-73. --Analyst]

19: Dobyns E-5 (1950) 1951 NU28 Papago NU28

[Arizona Labor Camps]

SANITATION

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751

The lack of floors, adequate ventilation, etc., in many southern Arizona labor camps raises a question of sanitation. How healthful are these temporary towns?

The ease with which flies can get at the inhabitants and their food is one critical factor in sanitation. The suggested labor camp code states the condition most Americans would want were they living in these camps:

> "(j) All exterior openings shall be effectively screened with at least 16-mesh per square inch material. All screen doors shall be outward-opening."[1]

Pickers working in Pima county have about 70% screen protection on their windows. But this doesn't mean they are protected from flies, since most cotton farmers haven't invested in screen doors--they put board doors on their cabins. Actually only about 40% of the camps in the county in 1950 had both windows and doors screened.[2]

In Pinal county the fly situation was even worse, with only a fair majority of the cotton plungers housing their labor behind screened windows in 1950, and a meager tenth supplying screen doors.[3]

Labor camp owners are quite vociferous in placing a good share of blame for bad fly conditions on their migrant employees. They say pickers kick out doors and windows for firewood when it's cold, and don't care about flies. They remark especially about lack of concern among their Indian employees over flies.

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To a certain extent, this is a defense and a rationalisation. But much of it is really accurate observation. The Desert People are not fly-conscious as are Anglos who have hygiene and fly-phobias drilled into them from an early age by parents and school teachers.

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[1] Federal Interagency Committee on Migrant Labor, 1947, p. 40.
[2] Based on examination of 10 camps, 7 with screened windows, 4 with screened doors.
[3] Based on examination of 19 camps, 11 with screened windows (58%) and 8 with screened doors (11%).

[Arizona Labor Camps]

751
825 In visiting labor camps in the course of this study, the writer saw Papago babies lying on the ground on a blanket in the shade of a camp cabin with flies in [854] clusters at their eyes and nostrils while the mother went about her work. Papago women were seen cooking [252] with flies buzzing freely around, and the daily pot [262] of frijoles often sat on a spotless oilcloth table cover with flies zooming in through an open door to the feast.

751 In fact, in the heat of late Arizona summer and
362 early fall--the serious fly season--the doors of labor
825 camp cabins are closed only when no one is in the cabin. Every breath of air is precious in the oppressive heat. This is true among the Desert People even when they live in excellent concrete block cabins with spacious screened windows and screen doors. They seem to hold a somewhat Steinish concept that a door is a door is a door is a door, whether wood or screen, and they prop open a screen door to let in air just as they would a wooden door.

[659] This all points to the big job the Indian Bureau school and medical service still must do in educating Papago mothers and children to the dangers of the ordinary housefly.

That lack of cabin screening, and Papago lack of knowledge of its necessity is really serious in the labor camps is convincingly shown by other sanitary conditions--or their lack--in these rural slum towns.

TOILET FACILITIES

514 Whatever the construction of houses in their camps,
[466] Pima and Pinal county labor camp operators provide very much the same kind of toilet facilities. In fact, they are almost unanimous in digging a pit and erecting over it the unpainted, rustic outhouse of folklore. Over 95% of the camps in the area exhibit outhouses as alike as boards sawed from the same log.[1] A few long established farmers making a life-time career of their land provided plumbing for their laborers--significant chiefly for proving that it can be done.[2] They had small cotton plantings and hired few pickers.

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[1] Based on: 20 of 21 camps in Pinal county and 22 of 23 in Pima, or 95½%.

[2] Basis: 1 of 21 in Pinal and 1 of 23 in Pima county, 4½%.